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The Passing Show.

Queensland Labs have outed Queensland Libs.

All the leading Libs. have been defeated, and the leading Labs. will take their places in the "tart shop."

The latest figures give the Labs. a two-to-one majority, and the right to run the show.

The Lib. Government was a bunch of boodling nuts—what the other one will be remains to be seen.

Queensland Labor, no doubt, expects great things from such a "glorious" victory. Will its expectations be realised? We have our "doots."

The capitalist press calls the result of the elections a "Socialist victory," and a "Labor victory." We know that the vote behind the Labs. is not a Socialist vote, and that, therefore, the victory is not a Socialist victory.

Most of the leaders of the victorious party are merely little liberals full of jingoism and other bourgeois prejudices.

The "victory," however, revives memories of recent history—the memory, for instance, of the great Tramway Strike—when King Kahill ruled and bludgeoned Brisbane workers in the interests of Badger.

What will the Party do with King Kahill? Will it remind him of his past services and bundle him out, or will it speak pleasantly to him and "retire" him on a comfortable pension?

Then there was the sugar strike, and the Free Speech Fight, in which Kahill did great work in muzzling and jailing Socialists so that they couldn't effectively criticise the Government and existing conditions. Will he be retained by the new Government for the performance of similar acts of oppression? We shall see.

In the Federal area and in that of some of the States, the war has led to a truce between the Libs. and the Labs. In the interests of the Empire, both parties joined to send the last man and the last shilling to the war. The war was a good excuse for burying the political hatchet. Will the same thing happen up north?

The Jingoism of Manly, Sydney's salubrious waterside resort, had a night out on May 25. One of the oleaginous tribe of local aldermen was particularly severe on several "Australian pests," amongst which he classed Germans and Socialists. He had attended a Brookvale Socialist meeting sometime previous, and was shocked at the utterances of some of the speakers there. The Government should intern such traitors, he said. His speech was great reading in the press next morning, but somehow it proved ineffective in inciting the Government which is too busy just now in keeping the hands of certain greasy gentlemen from other people's pockets. Profit-hunters and land-sharks are amongst the worst of "Australian pests," and they are usually the most impudent. You generally find them squeaking for jingoism and the internment of all critics.

A. C. Willis, general secretary of the Illawarra (N.S.W.) Colliery Employees' Association, speaking at Wollongong recently, advocated that "every unmarried man in the country without encumbrances should be compelled to go to the front, or else contribute a substantial amount out of each week's salary towards the support of the wives and families of those married men who decided to enlist." Willis, and other union secretaries, are notorious bluffers. They must say something to get in the limelight. Failing to serve their respective unions and do the work assigned to them, they set to to save the country by joining the pack that yelps along every false scent.



Opportunity Knocks Once.

OPPORTUNITY: "Mike! Have you got £5000 handy? Now's your chance to make a million."—The Masses.

A Master Baker recently told the Necessary Foods Commission that he could make £20 profit on three tons of flour. It is a fine country where this sort of thing can be done in war time, and it isn't to be wondered at that the profit-making master class regard it as the duty of the workers to defend it with their lives.

The butter-men and wheat exploiters are much more dangerous than any body of Germans in Australia could possibly be, but there is no such outcry against them as that which is being raised by Aldermanic and employing sharks against the "alien enemy." These gentry are surely earning the iron cross by creating a famine in the midst of plenty while they brag of patriotism and sacrifice. Their sacrifice means sacrifice of their fellows for profit.

Some Labor men are getting into prime condition. Senator Shannon, of South Australia, is 6ft. 4½ins. in height, and scales 19 stone. This is surely an unnecessary size for a politician.

"The so-called 'Liberal' party has but one definite policy, and that is a free hand for market-riggers and 'forestallers' to rook the people."—Queensland "Worker."

Now that the Labor Party has triumphed, the "market-riggers" and "forestallers" will be abolished—from the columns of the party press at least.

The liquor trade employees of Melbourne are alarmed. They met on a recent Sunday and resolved:

"That this meeting of liquor employees of all sections of the liquor trade emphatically protests against the proposed amendment of the Licensing Act, thereby depriving one-third of the employees in the trade of their employment, and that a deputation immediately wait on the Premier (Sir Alexander Peacock) to place the position of the employees before him."

The temperance party might as well interfere with a hornet's nest as tamper with "trade" under capitalism.

Mr. Knibbs, Commonwealth Statistician, has just issued another set of interesting cost-of-living figures. They relate to the first quarter of 1915, and show that the cost of food and groceries for the Commonwealth has increased 11.8 per cent. as compared with the prices a year ago. He shows that there has been a decrease in house rent of 4.1 per cent. The figures tell of a vast amount of hardship and suffering. The increased prices of food mean immense profits for many a humbug who advertises his patriotism by shrieking for the poor Belgians and against the "awful Germans." The decrease in rent is due to the depredations of the food pirates. The people simply cannot pay the old rents, and courts cannot make them.

To realise how readily direct action and propaganda by the deed lend themselves to the agent-provocateur one need only read the article in another column reprinted from the "Masses." In many parts of the world the same thing has happened again and again, and the wonder is that anyone familiar with the revolutionary movement can be trapped by such methods in our time. The article should be read by every reader of this paper, so that when some apparently disinterested friend comes with advice to blow capitalist joss-houses up, such may be appreciated at its true worth and declined with thanks.

"Doctors, in referring to the use of gases by the Germans, declare that they have never seen a more painful sight than rows of men, in the prime of life, stricken down by a power they had no means of resisting."—Press item.

It would perhaps be much less painful to these doctors to see rows of men disembowelled and dismembered in the ordinary way.

The Mayor of Wagga, on receipt of a letter from Manly Alderman anent the internment of Germans, said it was "rather hot." He might have added and "absolutely silly." Wagga and other country towns would starve if the German farmers stopped producing.

The Furniture Trades' Union of Sydney has decided that members must not try to get Germans or Austrians dismissed on account of their nationality. This will stand to their credit for all time. There is no sense in dismissing the breadwinners of Australian women and children.

The Jingo is a peculiar brute. Recently, he demanded that naturalised Germans should demonstrate their sympathy with the Allies. The German Club of Sydney responded in a practical way by offering the Concordia building as a hospital for wounded Australians. No sooner was this offer made than the "abysmal brute" commenced to rave against accepting charity from Germans. And this, despite the fact that members of the Concordia Club are men of many other nationalities.

If the War Precautions Bill happens to be put into force, Sydney "Sunday Times" and some other Jingo papers should be securely muzzled. They are doing more to spread false reports and discredit Australia and the Allies than any of the enemy's papers or agents could possibly do.

Mr. Wood, of the Presbyterian Church offices, says:—"It is hard to know what to do with discharged prisoners who apply for assistance. Of them it may truly be said 'The way of the transgressor is hard,' and the severe ordeal through which men of that type have to go in order to obtain a footing when they leave

the prisons can only be understood by those who go through it." This last week Mr. Wood had a case of this nature at the Church offices, and finds it exceedingly difficult to secure any suitable employment for the man, who, he said, seemed to turn in to the Church offices like a hunted animal, seeking a place of refuge.

It is undoubtedly hard for Churchmen to know what to do with such men. They daren't tell them the truth about the system, which first refuses men a living, and then, when they are driven from unemployment to desperation and offences against property, treats them as hunted animals. The pity and futility of it ought to strike even Churchmen.

In reporting, at the Sydney Labor Council on Thursday, May 27, in reference to a deputation to the State Attorney-General, Mr. Hall, in regard to the extension of the work of the Necessary Commodities Control Commission, Mr. Bennetts (Cigarmakers), said the Minister had not been long in his reply, but his words had meant a lot. Mr. Hall had said what seemed to the speaker to mean that any legislation under the present social system was almost a waste of time. Mr. Bennetts proceeded to say that he also had held that opinion for years. As a Marxian Socialist, he believed they must remove the cause of social troubles. They could appoint armies of inspectors for years, and their conditions would still be the same. They would have to appoint other inspectors to look after the inspectors of prices. (Laughter.)

Mr. Bramston (Buggydrivers), in reference to the Minister's remarks, said lawyers had "as many points as a porcupine." It was time they went ahead instead of stopping in the old rut.

The lawyers are going ahead alright—in the direction of State Capitalism and Industrial Conscription, and the Unions are either standing still or helping the lawyers. But in what he said, Mr. Hall, a lawyer, was quite right. Under the present system most positive legislation is futile. Profit is the flesh and bone and spinal marrow of system, and the profit-hunter is strong enough to make his own laws.

The demand for conscription is steadily increasing in Britain. Most of the Tories are in favor of it, and several members of the new Coalition Government are warm advocates of it in one form or another. There has also been a changed tone in the press, and now the bulk of that great factor in the manufacture of public opinion is squeaking consistently for conscription. Every slight reverse of the Allied armies is being seized upon to emphasise the need for more men, who, if they don't volunteer, must be compelled to fight. Australia is also being fed with the same dope, and as Fisher, Hughes and Pearce appear to be of the opinion that what is done in Britain must also be done in Australia, we may expect developments in the near future.

The repeated charges regarding the conduct of the court-martial, held in connection with the looting by troops at Rabaul, reached a culminating point last week, when the Fisher Government was compelled to promise an immediate inquiry. Such an inquiry should have been held two months ago, but instead of holding it the Government has been staving it off in the interests of the high officials and officers concerned. Both Mr. Fisher and Senator Pearce have shown up badly in the whole affair, and had it not been for the vigorous actions of two or three members of their party the public would have been kept in the dark regarding the facts. The Liberals, of course, as might be expected, are at one with the Government in the attempt to hide the facts which have had to be dragged into the light of day by two or three members.

Under the wage system the worker is not regarded as a man. He is a commodity, and his emotions, aspirations or feelings are not considered. The thing of prime importance is how much does it cost to live? If the day should ever come when the working people would learn to live on grass, their wages will be reduced accordingly, by the competition of workers for jobs.

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Land, properly speaking, cannot be owned by any man; it belongs to all the human race.
I. A. Froude.

Notes and Production.

The Australian note issue now amounts to £30,309,464 10s., and the amount of gold held £10,483,014.

The Laborite demand for a huge note issue has thus been gratified, but the prophesied results have not followed. The expectations of those writers of the Laborite press who thought that all that was necessary in the present crisis was to print plenty of notes, have not been realised and the general condition of the country is no better.

If it was possible to print and circulate another thirty million notes, the result would be much the same, provided that the land and means of production of the necessities of life remained locked up from producers.

When the agitation for notes was at its hottest some months ago, we pointed out that the issue of notes would not alter economic conditions unless the production of goods in the shape of necessities of life was freed from the grip of monopolists, who would only allow production so long as it was for their profit.

It was argued by Laborites that all that was necessary was for the Government to issue notes and proceed with public works, but when it was pointed out that the people could not eat and clothe themselves with public works, and that certain products of the land and factories were necessary, no reply was forthcoming.

In this country there are thousands of farmers, mechanics, and factory operatives out of work who would be glad to produce food and clothing for the community, but they are prevented by custom and legislation. The soil of the country is fertile, and there is abundant raw material, but the owners of these things have the legal right to say "hands off!" And the things required by all, which these men are willing to produce, form the true basis for the country's currency, whether that currency be notes or gold.

SYDNEY SOCIALISTS.

Mr. Greene: "What steps have been taken by the Defence Department to restrain Socialists from making seditious speeches in the Domain in Sydney, and from distributing seditious literature?"

Mr. Jensen: "I have not heard of any such matter."—Federal "Hansard" report, April 21, 1915.

All the same the Defence Department has a nice new muzzle ready for use in the War Precautions Bill.

CONSCRIPTION WANTED.

In a letter to the "Times," Lord Milner says that the nation has relied too exclusively upon the pick of its people. "It is high time that all the able-bodied manhood of the country was enrolled."

Seeing that only one in five of the working class is "able-bodied," how would it do to enrol all the "able-bodied" parasites—the dukes, lords, priests, bishops, parsons, and politicians?

THE STARVING BELGIANS' FUND.

"The State School Children's Empire Day effort to raise £10,000 for starving Belgian children is assured."—Press item.

Meanwhile, the starving Belgians in Lancashire refuse to work for the wages that local workers have been in the habit of working for.

WAR PRECAUTIONS.

Mr. King O'Malley: "The world consists of two classes—one little class inside, and one immense class outside trying to look into where the others are. We are asked to pass a Bill, and put its administration into the hands of a military class that has no thought for investigation or for intellectual examination, but whose sole thought is simply, 'Put his Pot on.'"

Mr. Rogers: "The 'gilt-spurred roosters' will have you now."

Mr. King O'Malley: "I am not afraid of them. There never was a law yet that had any effect on men that were not poor. Laws are always made to destroy the rights and privileges of the poor. The clause under discussion is dangerous because it takes away the rights of the masses."—Federal "Hansard" report, 28th April, 1915.

Truth peeps into curious places at odd times.

RABAUL LOOTING CHARGES.

The Rabaul looting charges were revived in the Federal Parliament again on Thursday last, May 27. Mr. Anstey described the recent court-martial as a premeditated farce. He said that there had been not only robbery, but forgery. Mr. Fisher promised to investigate further charges of looting at Rabaul, and also the alleged disappearance of a confession said to have been made by a soldier.—Press item.

After many months' investigation the investigators are to continue business at the same old address.

THE SAME BREED.

Stories continue to float round about the French and German soldiers who fraternised instead of fighting on Xmas day. Some of the stories are to the effect that soldiers on both sides agreed that they were all of the same breed of fools.

THE WHITE MAN'S SUPERIORITY.

We thought when Jess Willard demonstrated the white man's superiority by knocking Jack Johnson out, the white man would be satisfied, but he is not. He is intensely interested now in the new sport in Europe in which the Allies gain ten yards to-day, which the Germans regain to-morrow. The coloured man must be getting pretty tired of reading month after month how twenty millions of men move a few yards this way and a few yards that.

WANT.

Want is the strongest poison for the human body and soul. It is the fountain-head of all inhuman and anti-social feeling. Where want spreads out its wings, there the sentiments of love, of affection, of brotherhood, are impossible. Take a look at the figure of the peasant in the far-off arid Campagna, the little government employee, the labourer, the little shopkeeper. When work is assured, when living is certain, though poor, then want, cruel want, is in the distance, and every good sentiment can germinate and develop in the human heart. The family then lives in a favourable environment, the parents agree, the children are affectionate. And when the labourer, a bronzed statue of humanity, returns from his smoky shop and meets his white-haired mother, the embodiment of half a century of immaculate virtue and heroic sacrifices, then he can, tired, but assured of his daily bread, give room to feelings of affection, and he will cordially invite his mother to share his frugal meal. But let the same man,

Anarchy While You Wait.

Joseph O'Brien.

The agent-provocateur has received the endorsement of a jury and the sanction of a judge and may now be reckoned as an American institution. Carmine Carbone and Frank Abarno were found guilty of trying to blow up St. Patrick's Cathedral and some hundreds of devout worshippers with a tin can full of fireworks material on March 2. The conviction carries with it the penalty of from twelve and one-half years to twenty-five years' imprisonment. Carbone is eighteen years old and Abarno is twenty-four. This is how it was done, take it from Amadeo Polignani, a detective who now steps into his niche in history.

After the Lexington Avenue explosion in which Carson, Hanson and Berg were killed on last Fourth of July, the police department developed a severe case of Haymarket nerves. Captain Tunney of the Detective Bureau organised an Anarchy Squad, composed of detectives who could disguise themselves as honest workmen and penetrate the inner circles of the Reds. One of these was Polignani, an Italian new to the force and eager to distinguish himself. He found the Gaetani Bresci Study Circle, which held Sunday meetings in East One Hundred and Sixth Street, and camped there.

The Bresci group is made up of Italian Anarchists, Socialists, Syndicalists, and other radicals. Polignani represented himself as an unemployed worker and was given the job of sweeping out the hall in which the group met every Sunday afternoon. These meetings were public and had been going on for three years without the sound of a pop-gun. But Polignani found that those three years of peaceful propaganda had been merely preparation for the great plot.

In the minds of two boys was then matured this dastardly plot to destroy the stately Catholic edifice on Fifth Avenue and such members of the faith as might be gathered there at the moment of vengeance. They confided their plot not to their intellectual leaders and teachers, but to Polignani. It is a coincidence which judges and juries ignore that plotters of this character inevitably distrust their tried and true friends and hunt around for a police spy.

Polignani did not discourage them. He admits that. When he learned that they wanted to make a bomb and blow up the Cathedral and Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, his attitude was, "Go to it, boys." But they didn't know how, so he bought them a book, a sort of Anarchist cook book, containing approved recipes for bombs. When it came to purchasing the ingredients of a bomb, such as antimony and chloride of potash throat gargle and powdered sugar, the two boys were shy; so Polignani, the ever-helpful, bought it for them. They had no place in which a tin bomb might be safely manufactured, so he rented a room for them and kept the key in his pocket. When the ingredients weren't being stirred they were hidden in a trunk, and of that trunk Polignani had the key. And when the bombs, two of them, were all mixed and tinned and tied together with string, he took one of them and Abarno took the other and they sauntered out. Polignani bought a couple of cigars which were to be used to touch off the bombs, and puffing at these the two went to the Cathedral early in the morning of March 2.

Waiting for them at the Cathedral were detectives disguised as ushers, scrub-women and worshippers; alert young reporters ready for a beat, and a taxicab. Abarno didn't know this, of course, but Polignani and Captain Tunney and Commissioner Woods had arranged it all beforehand. When they went into the Cathedral the ushers and scrub-women and

in the same environment, be haunted by the spectre of want and lack of employment, and you will see the moral atmosphere in his family changing as from day into night. There is no work, and the labourer comes home without any wages. The wife, who does not know how to feed the children, reproaches her husband with the suffering of his family. The man, having been turned away from the doors of ten offices, feels his dignity as an honest labourer assailed in the very bosom of his own family, because he has vainly asked society for honest employment. And the bonds of affection and union are loosened in that family. Its members no longer agree. There are too many children, and when the poor old mother approaches her son, she reads in his dark and agitated mien the lack of tenderness and feels in her mother heart that her boy, poisoned by the spectre of want, is perhaps casting evil looks at her and harbouring the unfilial thought: "Better an open grave in the cemetery than one mouth more to feed at home."—Prof. Enrico Ferri.

worshippers of the Anarchy Squad seized them, bore them out and into the waiting taxicab and to the police station.

It was a very complete job. Polignani had worked hard and deserved the enthusiastic praise which Commissioner Woods bestowed upon him in the first triumphant moments. Captain Tunney also modestly asserted his claim to fame, but when an incredulous press and public began to talk about agent-provocateurs, silence fell upon the department. However, the job had been done and done well, and one might reasonably have expected an end of it. But the police are thorough.

The following Sunday the Bresci group to the number of about three hundred met as usual and speakers discussed the Cathedral comedy. After the meeting adjourned one of the leaders was held up by a man in front of the hall with a demand for money. This was a signal for eight or ten men in plain clothes, each armed with black jack and gun, to rush out from a corner saloon and charge the group. Luigi Campanello was beaten into insensibility, his nose broken and his scalp shredded with black jacks. Carlo Tresca, editor of "L'Avenir," was held up at the point of a gun thrust into his stomach. Pietro Allegro, Cuneo, Mandese and several others were beaten, and their assailants slipped away into Second Avenue. Campanello was sent to a hospital. The others were treated by physicians in the neighbourhood.

The Italians declared that their assailants were detectives. Commissioner Woods said he didn't believe them, and that ended the matter. The next Saturday Allegro, at an I. W. W. meeting in Union Square, pointed out in the crowd a man who, he said, had beaten him and others. The man was taken into Inspector Schmittberger's temporary office in the Union Square cottage, where it developed that he was Thomas J. Coy, one of Captain Tunney's vigilant Anarchy Squad. Allegro swore positively that Coy was one of those who had attacked the Italians in front of their hall, even describing the hat and clothing the detective had worn at the time. Inspector Schmittberger in his telephone report to Commissioner Woods, said it was a perfect identification.

The next day Commissioner Woods was asked what he was going to do about it, and he replied that he did not wish to prefer charges against Coy because he was afraid that such a step would incense the police against the Anarchists. The Bresci group was notified that it could no longer hold meetings in the hall, and there that phase ended.

Then came the trial before Judge Nott and a jury in the Court of General Sessions. The witnesses for the defence were excluded from the court room and from the moment the trial started until its close they were herded, harried, bullied and insulted by the court officers and Captain Tunney's detectives. Their attitude was so provocative that I wondered at the restraint of the men and women whom they continually harassed. I personally saw these witnesses pushed around and bullied as if they were cattle in a pen. I saw court officers menace them, dare them and invite them to start something. I saw a distinguished woman writer, who tried to get into the half empty court room, twice pushed across the corridor and insulted by one of the officers on the door. Nothing was left undone by these men to create in the minds of the jury a feeling of hostility toward the prisoners and those who sought to befriend them.

This culminated in one of the most extraordinary episodes that ever marked a criminal trial, when one of the unfortunate witnesses for the defence was dragged forth from the herd, by Polignani, and another witness for the prosecution, charged with having made the "death sign" at Polignani, and sent to Blackwell's Island. He never testified.

The acquittal of these two boys would have covered the police department with ridicule and contempt. Therefore they had to be convicted. Legal defence was useless.

There is a logical complement of the agent-provocateur and I am certain that Judge Nott and Commissioner Woods have not thought of it. It is assassination.
—THE MASSES.

A humorous story is going the rounds of the British press about a parson who has been engaged in recruiting, and who was called upon to marry a soldier. He staggered the bridegroom by asking, "Will you take this woman for three years, or for the term of the duration of the war?"

The Rev. Stuart Robertson, a Glasgow minister, who is working in a shell factory in that city, says he "makes cartridges to shoot the Germans all the week, and on Sunday he makes cartridges to shoot the Devil." If the cartridges he makes during the week were no more effective than those he makes on Sunday the Germans would have nothing to fear. The clergy have been firing at the Devil for thousands of years and haven't injured him yet.

The Catholic Church and Socialism.

BY THOMAS McGRADY.

Through the ballot the Catholic Church is the mistress of the situation. She can defeat any candidate, blight the career of the politician and control the action of the statesman. She forced the Government of the United States to send its representative to the Vatican armed with plenipotentiary powers to grant all her claims in the Philippine Islands. She affiliates with no political party, and yet she dominates the two great parties of this country. She compels the democrats and the republicans to court her patronage and seek her influence. When the Know-Nothings of America affiliated with the republican party the democrats denounced the narrow-minded policy of the bigots, and they gained the votes of the Catholics throughout the land and the sanction of the Roman Church.

In the coming conflict between the old order and the new, the Papacy must, by its inherent constitution, take its stand with the conservative element. Progress means its death-knell. The dogmas of the Roman Church will not endure the test of scientific analysis. Therefore, she seeks refuge in the shadows of ignorance. The inauguration of Socialism is the triumph of democracy, and the Catholic Church is the relic of feudalism. The establishment of Socialism is the death of aristocracy and the Church has ever maintained the divine right of kings and the divine institution of castes. Socialism stands for justice to all, special privileges to none. It stands for economic equality, which would enable the toiling millions to enjoy all the blessings of civilisation which glorify the dawn of the twentieth century. Under its regime the child would be redeemed from the bondage of toil and spend its youthful years in the acquisition of knowledge, and, fortified with the advantages of the highest education, it would spend its leisure hours in thought and study. Ignorance would ultimately disappear from the land. The political and economic tenets of Socialism can never be reconciled with the aristocratic pretensions of Rome. Self-preservation, the first law of nature, will inspire the Church to cast her lot with the capitalists, and she will ever use her influence in the perpetuation of class-rule and the domination of wealth.

The commercial magnates realise the potency of the Catholic Church in directing the minds and governing the thoughts of her subjects. They know that she is their most redoubtable ally, and, therefore, they woo her favors and cringe at her throne. Edward the Seventh made a pilgrimage to the Shrine of the Apostles. The Kaiser followed his example. The President of the American Republic sent handsome gifts to the throne of St. Peter, and Morgan redeemed costly vestments and presented them as token of respect to the Fisherman on the shores of the Tiber.

The press will publish no communication of a derogatory character against the interest of the hierarchy, and the Protestant pulpit has ceased to hurl anathemas at the Vatican. Presidents, politicians, statesmen, financial kings and industrial magnates, journalists and publishers, realise that Rome is a mighty potentiality on the American continent, and they court her smiles and fear her frowns. Rome uses the boycott with terrific results. With this weapon of coercion she dominates the political and the commercial sphere from the ruler of the nation to the humblest merchant.

The Socialists in this country are lacking in every qualification that would enable them to meet the onslaughts of their spiritual foe. Learning, eloquence, diplomacy, are all on the side of Rome. Hero-worship controls every rank of society, and its baneful influence has always been wielded to aid the rich and the powerful in crushing and exploiting the poor and the weak. The toilers are especially victims of this form of idolatry. They have been opposed by the ruling class and have been deprived of the higher gifts of civilisation. It is quite natural for them to offer their adoration at the shrine of those who are distinguished by the magnitude of their wealth and the profundity of their erudition, especially when the press and the pulpit, the school and the university, hold these men before the world as examples for imitation and public homage. The Catholic Church is the nursery of hero-worship, and the Catholic working man is more servile in his veneration at the altar of the human god than his fellow-toilers. Every institution of his creed is permeated with this potential cult. The Socialists spurn hero-worship. They are familiar with the law of development, and know that the great and the mighty are the creatures of environment. They are students of anthropology, biology, criminology and sociology, and they realise that the poor and the weak have

been victimised for the exaltation and glorification of the wealthy and the powerful. They know that the intelligence and culture of the dominant class have been created by the sacrifices of the serving class. The ignorance and poverty of the one represents the wealth and splendour of the other. With the establishment of economic equality hero-worship will vanish, as there will be no downtrodden millions to offer their vows at the shrine of human deities. The Socialists are familiar with the methods by which the dominant element has exploited the serving element, and they know that exploitation has resulted in driving the helpless poor into the slums which breed ignorance and vice and crime. They realise that hero-worship has been utilised by the exploiters to command obedience and submission from their victims. It is quite natural that they should spurn the cult practiced in the temple where sycophants and hypocrites join the cringing multitude in presenting their oblations to human gods who are frequently canonised scoundrels and sanctioned criminals. Many Socialists in the discussion of the economic problem with Catholics, recognising the pernicious influence of hero-worship, indulge in bitter tirades against the Church and her institutions. They denounce religion as the embodiment of iniquity, and rudely tell their fellow-toilers who are adherents of Rome that their Church is the most potent instrument of crime that has ever cursed humanity. The Socialist falsely and stupidly imagines that the insulting diatribes hurled at the Pope and the institutions of Catholicism will eventuate in the destruction of religious influence and in the conversion of the Catholic. But he defeats his purpose. He has succeeded admirably in fanning the flame of religious fanaticism in the heart of his fellow-toiler, who is now fortified in his faith, and is ready to don the panoply to battle for his Church and the destruction of her enemies. There are very few Socialists who are qualified to address Catholic working men, owing to their dense ignorance of the Church and the thoughts, sentiments and inspirations she creates in the hearts of her disciples. Hero-worship is the concentrated heritage of a thousand generations, and it will survive the industrial revolution by at least a century.

There is yet a vast field in this country for the Catholic clergy. In all the Middle, Western and Southern States there is a deficiency of priests. The church offers them economic security, a life of ease, comfort and study, social influence and ecclesiastical honors. The Socialists, in this country, are deficient in the culture and refinement which characterise the movement in Catholic Europe, and there is no compensation for the sacrifices which the priest makes in the renunciation of his ecclesiastical affiliations. Capitalism and Catholicism glorify their heroes to augment their power and magnify their influence. American Socialists sacrifice their heroes in the flaming fires of jealousy. The movement is yet too small and insignificant to attract the genius of the land, and the party is directed by the paltry and sordid conceptions of small men.

In the present stage of the movement the Church partially ignores the blatant utterances of the boorish propagandist. She realises that his ruthless methods will never appeal to the Catholic. The ignorant invective will fortify the faith of Catholics, strengthen the position of the Church, and confirm her claim that Socialism and atheism are identical. Dr. Buckle says, in his introduction to the "History of Civilisation in England," that you can never destroy superstition by direct attack. Opposition merely inflames the fanaticism of the religious devotee and increases his loyalty to the Church. The A.P.A. movement in America resulted to the advantage of Catholicism. Its bitter denunciations recalled thousands of former members who had renounced their allegiance to the Church of Rome to the creed of their childhood and the altar of their sires.

Rome never sleeps. She is silently observing the growth of the Socialist party in America, and is preparing herself for the coming conflict. She takes the side of the capitalist as well as the laborer, and thus she escapes the accusation of partiality. She preaches justice to all. She defends the right of private property in the instruments of production and distribution, and thus strives to earn the title of the saviour of society. At the same time she denounces the trusts and the illegitimate acquisition of wealth and sanctions the unions, and thereby gains the confidence and esteem of the middle class and the army of toilers. She will continue this method of defence, and assume the attitude of mediator between the rich and the poor, till the wealth of the nation has been absorbed by a few billionaires. When all reform parties and reform measures are swept from the arena, when all thinking men realise that reformation is an impossibility, when economic revolution becomes the shibboleth of the workers and

the middle and professional classes, who will eventually be compelled to combine with the toiling hosts in the preservation of society from the domination of wealth, then the prophecy attributed to Mark Hanna will be accomplished, when he said that the day was not far distant when the conflict would be a battle royal between Socialism on one side and the republican party allied with the Catholic Church on the other. She has the education, the eloquence and the influence, and the capitalists will place millions at her disposal to send forth her apostles to extirpate the Socialist movement from the land, to demolish the temple of atheism and the altar of iniquity, and to preserve our glorious civilisation and our beloved country, the grandest and the mightiest that ever lay beneath the heavens and basked in the splendour of the noon-tide sun, where any laborer can become president of the Republic.

But there are dangers ahead. Rome is never satisfied. She thirsts for absolute supremacy. She insists on the monopoly of education. She knows that she can form the plastic mind of the child and inflame the heart of the youth with her spirit by having charge of its early training. This ambition was the origin of her conflict with the French Government. The monastic institutions wanted to control the education of the realm, and the teachers in those institutions sought to inflame the students with hatred for the republican form of government, with the hope of utilising the coming generations in the restoration of the royalty. Rome has denounced the free schools of this country for a generation. She now hopes that the Government will ultimately commit the education of the children of the republic to her charge as a reward for her services in espousing the cause of law and order, and as an essential means of her final victory over the legions of atheism. She contends that godless education engenders Socialism. Archbishop Quigley, of Chicago, said that Socialism must be crushed in this land and the public schools must be abolished, as a means of preserving the American Republic, and this sentiment has been repeated by Catholic divines from shore to shore.

The triumph of monopoly will swell the ranks of Socialism by the accession of the toilers and the middle professional class. Catholics will gradually break their allegiance with Rome, for necessity will compel them to join the army of revolutionists which the Church condemns. The political character of the Church will be revealed by her open defence of commercial and industrial despotism, for when there are only two classes she will be driven to the necessity of committing herself and taking the side of the exploiters, the sacred charm of her mysterious influence will fade, religious rebellion will follow, and Rome will ultimately go down in ignominious defeat with her capitalistic allies.

T. McGRADY.

San Francisco, Cal.

KANAKA JUSTICE.

The treatment now being meted out to Germans and their wives and children reminds us of the Kanaka's idea of revenge. In Queensland, in the Kanaka days, if a white man struck a coloured brother, the latter would say nothing but quietly go and muster a few of his mates and return to where he was hit. Then the white man who happened to be at that spot would be pounced on and vigorously mauled, whether he was the culprit or not. The white jingo interns the German worker and feeds him, but leaves his Australian wife and children to starve.

"In modern history, at least, it is proved that all political contests are class contests and that all fights of classes for emancipation, in spite of their necessarily political form (for every class struggle is a political struggle), finally, are directed towards economic emancipation. Here at least, therefore, the State, the political arrangement is the subordinate, bourgeois society, the rule of economic relations, the deciding element. The old fashioned philosophy, which even Hegel respected, saw in the State the determining element, and in bourgeois society the element determined by it."—Frederick Engels.

The Archbishop of York says: "It has been remarked that if God knew what was going on in Europe His heart would break. The answer is, 'It does break.' Pity the sorrows of poor old heart-broken Jehovah!"

Are the patriots making sacrifices? Certainly. The Colonial Sugar Company's profit for six months amounted to £220,500; Bank of Australasia's profit for six months, £220,500. There is no need to go to Europe to look for the enemy. He is here.

When you have finished with this paper, pass it on to a friend

The Materialist Conception of History.

The Marxian philosophy of history is clearly stated and so fully explained by Engels that there is no need to go over the ground again, and there only remains to call attention to some of the modern developments in the direction of rigidity of interpretation, and to the exaggeration of the broad theory of the predominance of the economic factor into a hard and fast doctrine of economic determinism.

When we examine the claims of Engels on behalf of the materialistic doctrine it will be found that they are not by any means of such a nature as to warrant the extreme conclusions of subsequent socialist publicists and leaders.

It must be remembered that the subject of the influence of economic conditions on religious and political phenomena has been closely examined of late years, and continual and accumulating evidence has been forthcoming respecting the remarkable influence of economic facts upon all other manifestations of social activity. It is very probable that the successful investigations in this new field have led, temporarily, to the formation of exaggerated ideas as to the actual value of the economic factor.

Marx, in one of his short critical notes on Feuerbach, says:—

"The materialistic doctrine that men are products of conditions and education, different men therefore, products of other conditions, and a different kind of education, forgets that circumstances may be altered by man and that the educator has himself to be educated."

In other words, the problem, like all problems, possesses at least two quantities; it is not a question solely of conditions, economic or otherwise; it is a question of man and conditions, for the man is never dissolved in conditions, but exists as a separate entity, and these two elements, man and conditions, act and react the one upon the other.

This is quite a different position from that taken by Lafargue in his fight with Jaures. Lafargue there argued that economic development is the sole determinant of progress, and pronounces in favor of economic determinism, thus reducing the whole of history and, consequently, the dominant human motives to but one elementary motive. Belfort Bax, the well-known English socialist writer, makes a very clever argument against the determinist position by comparing it with the attempts of the pre-Socratic Greek philosophers to reduce nature to one element. His remarks are so pertinent that a brief abstract of his argument is here quoted in his own language. He says in "Outlooks from a New Standpoint":—

"The endeavour to reduce the whole of human life to one element alone, to reconstruct all history on the basis of economics, as already said, ignores the fact that every concrete reality must have a material and a formal side,—that is, it must have at least two ultimate elements—all reality as opposed to abstraction consisting in a synthesis. The attempt to evolve the many-sidedness of human life out of one of its factors, no matter how important that factor may be, reminds one of the attempts of the early pre-Socratic Greeks to reduce nature to one element, such as water, air, fire, etc."

And again:

"The precise form a movement takes, be it intellectual, ethical, or artistic, I fully admit, is determined by the material circumstances of the society in which it acquires form and shape, but it is also determined by those fundamental psychological tendencies which have given it birth."

Enrico Ferri, the famous Italian member of the Chamber of Deputies and Criminologist, appears to be at one with Bax in this matter. He says, quoting from a recent translation of his "Socialism and Modern Science":—

"It is perfectly true that every phenomenon as well as every institution—moral, judicial, or political—is simply the result of the economic phenomena and the conditions of the transitory, physical and historical environments. But as a consequence of that law of natural causality which tells us that every effect is always the resultant of numerous concurrent causes, and not of one cause alone, and that every effect becomes in its turn a cause of other phenomena, it is necessary to amend and complete the too rigid form that has been given to this new idea,

"Just as all psychical manifestations of the individual are the result of the organic conditions (temperament) and of the environment in which he lives, in the same way, all the social manifestations of a people are the resultant of their organic conditions (race) and of the environment, as these are the determining causes of the given economic organisation which is the physical basis of life."

These may be said to be fairly representative of the views of the opposition to the extreme of economic determinism.

The whole controversy has spread over a tremendous amount of ground, and involves much reading. Some of the chief results have lately been summarised by Professor Seligman in his "Economic Interpretation of History" (Macmillan; 1902). His written views show a closer approximation to and understanding of the teachings of the Socialist philosophy on this subject than we have been accustomed to receive at the hands of official savants, so that it would seem as if the value of Marx's work was at last beginning to be appreciated even in the foggy studies of the professors. Two extracts from the writings of Engels are quoted by Professor Seligman. These extracts apparently go to prove that Engels by no means contemplated the extreme construction which has been placed upon the doctrine, and that he would find such a construction inconsistent with his general views.

These extracts are quoted here for the purpose of further elucidating the views of Engels and as further explanatory of the position assumed by him in the last part of the work under consideration.

They form part of a series of articles written for the "Sozialistische Akademiker" in 1890, and are as follows:

"Marx and I are partly responsible for the fact that the younger men have sometimes laid more stress on the economic side than it deserves. In meeting the attacks of our opponents it was necessary for us to emphasise the dominant principle denied by them; and we did not always have the time, place or opportunity to let other factors which were concerned in the mutual action and reaction get their deserts."

And in another letter to the same magazine, he says:

"According to the material view of history, the factor which is, in last instance, decisive in history is the production and reproduction of actual life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. But when anyone distorts this so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element he converts the statement into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase. The economic condition is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—the political forms of the class contests and their results, the constitutions—the legal forms and also all the reflexes of these actual contests in the brains of the participants, the political, legal, philosophical theories, the religious views—all these exert an influence on the development of the historical struggles, and in many instances determine their form."

Here we may leave this much disputed matter for the present, as any involved discussion of controversial questions would be out of place here. The question in its ultimate form is merely scholastic, for not even the most extreme determinist would hold that only the economic argument must be relied upon by the orators and the press of the proletarian movement. Anyone, however, who wishes to pursue the subject further, can find abundant material in the already great and growing amount of literature in connection with it.

Austin Lewis (Introduction to Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy).

The Gunpowder Gang. COSMOPOLITAN BOODLERS IN HOLY RUSSIA.

Socialists have often pointed out that the manufacture of armaments is controlled by an international gang, inspired solely by the very elevating motive of profit. It does not often happen however that such a clear illustration of the operations of this gang is presented by a Capitalist publication, as is the case in the 1913-14 issue of the Navy League Annual. In an article on the Russian Navy the Annual deals with a number of contracts for warships and then goes on to say:

"The surprising thing in the distribution of the above contracts is that almost all the yards mentioned above do not exist. As a matter of fact an attempt is being made to build up an industry of naval shipbuilding, at the same time as a new Navy. An attempt has been made to lessen this drawback in the probability of contracts being badly carried out by new and inexperienced yards, by allowing the yards to make an appeal for help from abroad. Foreign co-operation has been allotted as follows: Baltic Yard (Petersburg), Blohm & Voss (Hamburg), Russian Society (Reval), Creusot (French), Vulkan Co., (German), Lange-Becker (Reval), Normand Co., (French), Carl Ziese (Riga), Schichau & Co., (German), Baltic Yard (Petersburg), and Russian Co., (Contractors for Admiralty) Vickers (English), and Brown-Beveri (English)."

The government has received proposals from foreign firms to establish gun factories

in Russia similar to those of Vickers and Armstrong in England. The French firm of Schneider (Creusot) has offered to take over the government Nivtovilinsky ironworks near Perm in the Urals for the purpose. Krupp has already a branch for the production of armorplate at the Nikopol-Mariupol works and would much like to set up a gun factory somewhere near the Urals or on the Volga. The Austrian firm of Skoda offers to build large ironworks in or near St. Petersburg for the production of large ingots for the Putiloff gun factory. It is said that an English firm has sent out engineers to the Volga to select a site for a gun factory, where ore from the Urals and coal from the Donetz would be available.

D. H.

EUGENICS AND ANARCHY.

We have received a letter from Dr. Xarus Sphynx to the following effect:—"Sir,—We have pleasure in satisfying the request you made in your editorial note following our 'energetic protest' against the misinterpretations and misrepresentations of 'Eugenics.'"

"The passages objected to by us are as follows:—

"('Eugenics and Warfare—extracts of articles from the 'Observer,' endorsed and published by the Glasgow 'Socialist,' also endorsed and published by the 'International Socialist,' April 10 issue)."

Here a list is given of the passages objected to, which practically involves re-printing the whole article. This is surely unnecessary for those who have already read it.

The letter then concludes:

"This is what made us, 'Eugenists,' protest against such absurdities as being a correct interpretation and representation of the science of 'Eugenics.'"

"As, in the past, the Socialist press has shown itself to be no more a 'free' press than any other press, our freedom is consequently limited to 'protests' without any comments."

"FRaternally yours,

"DR. XARUS SPHYNX."

(Australian Representative of the Neo-Malthusian League.)

"P.S.—We have the intention, as soon as our personal freedom will be restituted to us, to show and explain publicly that the conception of 'Eugenics' of Socialists is altogether contrary to the one of 'Eugenists.'"

We hope our correspondent's freedom will soon be restored to him. Things are decidedly dull just now, and anyone who can contribute to the hilarity of nations will be heartily welcomed by Socialists. A good joke is always desirable.

We hope the doctor will show how Eugenists who were criticised by the Glasgow "Socialist" as ultra-authoritarians and bourgeois spookists, and Anarchist Eugenists, like himself, can row in the same boat.

The article in the Glasgow "Socialist" still remains uncriticised, and seeing that it was mainly an attack on the views of certain "Observer" correspondents, there is no need for us to deny that either the Glasgow "Socialist" or this paper "endorsed" what the "Observer" printed.

We are sorry that the doctor's "freedom" is so "limited to protests without any comments" and he thinks the Socialist press is no more a "free press" than any others, but we couldn't do more than invite him to state his case. However, we hope he will soon be able to make his epoch-marking speech, so that the Socialist world may enjoy the joke.—Ed.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CLUB.

We are sorry to have to announce that the premises of the above Club were destroyed by fire on the night of May 25. All the paintings and the valuable library were lost, a distinct loss to the Socialist movement in Sydney.

The Club has secured new premises in Dalwood Chambers, Bathurst Street, where the usual activities will be carried on.

You have so many theories, plans and propositions presented to you that you become bewildered and hopeless of what to do. There is, if you would stop to think, just one proper thing to do that cannot fail the best results and accomplishing that which is best. Study the best thinkers and teach your neighbors. In due course this will bear fruit in some definite line of action. No good thought absorbed is ever lost, no truth spoken that will not bear fruit according to its kind. Lay siege to your neighbors, each according to his disposition and prejudice. So long as you have neighbors who are deficient in knowledge you possess, you have work to do. This will in time have its influence on county, state and nation. Do not think the effort wasted because you fear you will not live to see results. Our lives are but atoms—remember millions are to follow us. What we now enjoy in freedom others gave

A.S.P. News & Notes.

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CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

Next meeting of the C. E. will be held on Saturday, June 10.

LUKE JONES, Gen. Sec.

REDFERN MEETINGS.

Friday night, 7 p.m., corner of Wells and Regent-Sts.
Saturday night, in front of Monaghan's Hotel, Botany Road.

A branch of the A.S.P. is being formed in Redfern. Intending members communicate with J. Quinton, Sec. Sydney branch, 115 Goulburn-St., Sydney.

J. QUINTON.

NEWTOWN.

Newtown Branch.—Rooms 41 Enmore-Rd., Newtown. Propaganda meetings: Friday evenings, Johnstone-St., Leichhardt. Saturday and Sunday evenings, Newtown Bridge.

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their lives for. They did not shirk because they might not realize results. Look back over the dark ages when to think was a crime and to speak the truth about church and state meant death, when even the rulers could neither read nor write, much less the serfs and slaves, our ancestors. Think how precious one truth spoken must have been. To the utmost of your power and purse spread the light of the New Civilization. Do not think time and money wasted on even the poor and unlettered. They are often as potent as men of means. Many untutored men have subdued nations. Never let a day go by without sowing the seed of discontent with the present unjust social conditions. Do your best. The future will take care of itself.

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|---|-----|
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AUBURN BRANCH.

The above branch meets every Monday night in the Class Room, School of Arts, Queen-street, at 7.45 p.m.

Propaganda meetings are held every Friday evening at "Bundock," corner Auburn-road and Queen-street, at 8.15 p.m.

Those who desire to join should give their names to the branch Secretary, J. J. KEGG.

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